

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: OREP, (MCGOVERN, GEORGE)
SUBJECT: CODEL MCGOVERN

1. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING DRAFT REPORTING CABLE TO SENATOR
MCGOVERN FOR HIS COMMENT AND CLEARANCE.

2. SUMMARY. SENATOR GEORGE MCGOVERN VISITED YUGOSLAVIA
AUGUST 9-13 AND WAS ACCORDED UNUSUALLY WARM AND HIGH
LEVEL RECEPTION. ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GLIGOROV, FEDERAL
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL PRESIDENT DJURANOVIC AND FOREIGN
SECRETARY MINIC EACH HAD TWO-HOUR SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS
WITH HIM AND PRESIDENT GLIGOROV HOSTED DINNER IN THE
SENATOR'S HONOR. SUBJECTS COVERED INCLUDED US-YUGOSLAV
RELATIONS, DETENTE AND CSCE, HUMAN RIGHTS, MIDDLE EAST,
SOUTHERN AFRICA AND NON-ALIGNMENT. END SUMMARY.

3. SENATOR MCGOVERN'S FOUR-DAY TOUR OF YUGOSLAVIA WAS
VERY MUCH THE RETURN OF A FAVORED SON. HE WAS MET AT THE
AIRPORT AND ESCORTED THROUGHOUT HIS TRIP BY ASSEMBLY
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE PRESIDENT JAVORSKI, COMMITTEE
SECRETARY ZUNIC AND FSFA NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR
STARCEVIC. FEC PRESIDENT DJURANOVIC CLEARLY CAPTURED
GENERAL FEELING OF WARMTH FOR MCGOVERN WHEN HE EXPRESSED
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YUGOSLAVIA'S GRATITUDE FOR SENATOR'S ROLE IN SECOND
WORLD WAR AND FOR HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE SINCE THAT
TIME. IN A COUNTRY WHOSE LEADERSHIP DEFIES ITSELF VERY SUB-
STANTIALLY BY THE PARTISAN EXPERIENCE, FACT MCGOVERN LANDED HIS
CRIPPLED LIBERATOR BOMBER ON VIS ISLAND IN 1944, WHICH WAS
THEN TITO'S COMMAND POST, ESTABLISHED SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP.
ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT GLIGOROV CONVEYED TO MCGOVERN PRESIDENT

TITO'S PERSONAL GREETINGS AND REGRETS THAT DUE TO HIS UPCOMING TRIP HE WAS UNABLE TO RECEIVE THE SENATOR. YUGOSLAV MEDIA ATTENTION WAS ALSO UNUSUALLY HEAVY, BOTH TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPERS. SUBSTANCE OF SUBJECTS COVERED FOLLOWS.

4. US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS. SENATOR MCGOVERN STRESSED IN SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS HIS CONVICTION THAT PRESIDENT CARTER, VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE, SECRETARY VANCE AND THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS WANTED TO ESTABLISH CLOSER AND MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA, WHOSE INDEPENDENCE AND ROLE IN THE WORLD WE VERY MUCH RESPECT. ALL THREE OF HIS MAJOR INTERLOCUTORS--GLIGOROV, MINIC, DJURANOVIC--UNDERLINED GOY VIEW THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS SINCE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAME INTO OFFICE. CURRENT PROBLEM AREAS WERE ONLY RAISED IN PASSING, E.E., EMIGRE TERRORISM AND MIHAILOVIC STATUE, ON WHICH THE YUGOSLAVS CLEARLY HOPED FOR SENATOR'S SUPPORT AS A DOWNED AIRMAN HELPED BY THE PARTISANS. WHILE GENERALLY STRESSING POSITIVE QUALITY OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS, DJURANOVIC DID NOTE THAT IN THE FIRST HALF OF THIS YEAR THERE IS A 130 MILLION DOLLAR DEFICIT IN OUR TRADE (OUR FIGURES DIFFER). HE STRESSED KARDELJ VISIT AND POSSIBLE CARTER-TITO MEETING WOULD PROVIDE IMPETUS IN THE BILATERAL FIELD. IN DISCUSSION WITH JAVORSKI, SENATOR MCGOVERN STRESSED U.S. DESIRE SELL CORN AND WHEAT. HE MENTIONED POSSIBILITY OF A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TRADE-OFF FOR YUGOSLAV WINE. JAVORSKI EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THIS APPROACH AND AGREED WITH AMBASSADOR THAT LATTER SHOULD FOLLOW THROUGH WITH FOREIGN TRADE SECRETARY LUDVIGER (WHICH WE WILL DO).

5. DETENTE AND CSCE. SECRETARY MINIC APPEALED FOR SOME CONCRETE ACT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION BEFORE THE OPENING OF CSCE IN OCTOBER. OTHERWISE HE FEARED A "VERY SHARP US-SOVIET CONFRONTATION". FROM THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE SOVIETS, MINIC SAID THAT IT APPEARED THE SOVIETS SINCERELY BELIEVE SECRETARY VANCE'S ORIGINAL PROPOSALS ON SALT WOULD HAVE LED TO AN IMBALANCE IN US-SOVIET FORCES HARMFUL TO THE SOVIET UNION. YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE THERE ARE TWO PROBLEMS IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS. FIRST, A CERTAIN DEGREE OF MUTUAL MISTRUST. SECOND, BOTH COUNTRIES APPROACH TO DETENTE IS BASED ON NARROW BALANCE OF FORCE BETWEEN THEM RATHER THAN EXTENDING DETENTE TO REST OF WORLD. IF BOTH COUNTRIES WOULD AGREE TO APPLY THE PRINCIPLES OF DETENTE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND TO DEAL MORE WITH THE NON-ALIGNED, DETENTE WOULD MOVE FORWARD MUCH FASTER.

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6. HUMAN RIGHTS. TO SENATOR MCGOVERN'S QUESTION ABOUT THE YUGOSLAV VIEW OF WHETHER PRESIDENT CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN WAS WELL ADVISED IN TERMS OF THE SOVIET UNION, GLIGOROV COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS: WHILE YUGOSLAVIA HAS A POLICY OF ALLOWING PEOPLE, IDEAS AND GOODS TO MOVE FREELY ACROSS BORDERS, THIS IS THE RESULT OF ITS OWN INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT. TRYING TO FORCE A COUNTRY AS LARGE AS THE SOVIET UNION TO DO SOMETHING IF ITS INTERNAL PROCESS NOT DEVELOPED CAN HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT GENERAL EFFORTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD SHOULD BE NEGLECTED. THE QUESTION IS HOW THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD PROCEED. THE FACT THAT NEW DRAFT OF SOVIET CONSTITUTION IS ONE THIRD DEVOTED TO HUMAN RIGHTS IS PERHAPS A RESULT OF THIS DIALOGUE HAVING BEEN LAUNCHED. BUT WE SHOULD DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS IN ALL ITS ASPECTS. YUGOSLAVIA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE DEGREE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACHIEVED IN THE 19TH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES IN THE WEST IS THE HIGHEST ACHIEVEMENT OF WHICH MANKIND IS CAPABLE. GLIGOROV HAD JUST BEEN READING BREZEZINSKI'S "BETWEEN TWO AGES" AND FOUND ITS SPECULATION ABOUT THE NEED TO TRANSCEND THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM VERY INTERESTING AS YUGOSLAVIA ALSO BELIEVES ONE-PARTY AND MULTI-PARTY SYSTEMS OUTDATED. YUGOSLAVIA HAS ACHIEVED A DEGREE OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY THROUGH ITS SYSTEM

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OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT. NOW THERE IS A NEED TO ACHIEVE THE SAME FREEDOM IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE AND TO CONNECT THESE TWO DIMENSIONS. THIS WILL BE THE MAIN THEME FOR DELEGATE ELECTIONS AND PARTY CONGRESS NEXT YEAR.

7. MIDDLE EAST. MINIC STATED FLATLY THAT "EGYPT HAD COMMITTED ARMED AGRESSION AGAINST LIBYA." YUGOSLAV BIAS ALSO CLEAR IN MINIC DISCUSSION OF ETHIOPIA-SOMALIA DISPUTE, ALTHOUGH THERE MINIC MADE POINT OF SAYING THAT ETHIOPIANS WERE AT FAULT FOR LETTING ERITREAN PROBLEM GET TO POINT IT HAS. DJURANOVIC AND MINIC STRESSED THAT IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH ARABS, YUGOSLAVS URGED FLEXIBILITY AND NEED FOR RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL. AT SAME TIME ALL THREE YUGOSLAV OFFICIALS STRESSED THAT STEPS BEING TAKEN BY BEGIN GOVERNMENT WERE SERIOUSLY WORSENING SITUATION, THAT THEY WERE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT EARLY CONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THAT WHILE WAR UNLIKELY IN NEXT SIX MONTHS, AFTER THAT IT WAS QUITE POSSIBLE. THEIR CENTRAL POLICY MESSAGE WAS THAT THE UNITED STATES WHOULD ESTABLISH DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE PLO. SENATOR MCGOVERN MADE A STRONG APPEAL FOR THE YUGOSLAVS TO ENCOURAGE ARABS TO STATE PUBLICLY THAT THEY RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL AND TO URGE THE ARABS NOT TO LOSE HOPE.

8. SOUTHERN AFRICA AND NON-ALIGNMENT. MINIC STATED THAT HE AND MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENCY ZARKOVIC HAD DURING THEIR MEETINGS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE LAST THREE MONTS URGED SUPPORT FOR THE INITIATIVES OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND THE USG. YUGOSLAV VIEWS WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE FO KAUNDA AND NYRERE BUT EVEN THESE MOST MODERATE OF AFRICAN LEADERS WERE BEGINNING TO LOSE HOPE THAT THE US WOULD BRING SUFFICIENT PRESSURE ON FOSTER AND SMITH. ALL OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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YUGOSLAVIA'S AFRICAN FRIENDS WANT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION BECAUSE THEY WANT TO AVOID MAJOR POWER CONFRONTATION AND CHOOSING UP OPPOSITE SIDES WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY RESULT FROM ARMED CONFLICT. AT SAME TIME AFRICANS ARE LOSING THEIR PATIENCE. DJURANOVIC MENTIONED THAT GOY WAS PLEASED WITH VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S EXPRESSION OF RESPECT FOR YUGOSLAV NON-ALIGNMENT. BUT THEY ARE VERY DISTURBED AS THEY SEE A TENDENCY IN AFRICA (ON THE PART OF THE SUPER-POWERS) TO DESTROY THE NON-ALIGNED. EAGLEBURGER

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